2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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175 436 (586) As further evidence of the ceremonial circulation of coinage Ward (1821, lxxi) also discusses Badaga bridewealth,[14] and the payment of twenty Cantirai fanams (coins totalling nearly six rupees) to a mother when, after divorce, she gave custody of her newborn child to her former husband. To judge by later Badaga practices it is very likely that a gift of coins[15] was already an integral part of all family ceremonies. Such a gift was actually a delayed exchange and implied that a return gift was expected later when similar circumstances arose. By 1848 only the East India Company's coinage was in circulation, but a good deal of it was also hoarded by burial or made into ornaments (Ouchterlony, 1848, 72; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 72).

175 436 This system of coinage circulation was very slow and uncertain, as it depended on the occasional celebration of weddings and other family events. Coins clearly had a ritual value for Badagas and were important in this period as a symbolic link between various social units (as to some extent they still are). We have no definite evidence that coins were used for payment of fines to the headmen as early as the eighteenth century; but throughout much of the nineteenth century a regular schedule of fines was maintained in Badaga judicial practice.[16] Coinage did not define values in a local Nilgiri market but did act as a convenient and reliable means of storing credit acquired in the lowland markets where, from 1799, the British pursued a policy of fixing local grain prices by currency values.

175 651 By the start of the last century the Badagas had become 'terribly impoverished', and most were heavily in arrears with payment of land revenue. 'The rates of assessment were undoubtedly low', were based on acreage and 'varied with the appearance of the crop at harvest-time' (Grigg, 1880, 312; Francis, 1908, 268). During the first thirty years of British rule a decline in these payments set in.

175 652 (651) From 1799 to 1813 the average annual revenue from the entire plateau was Rs. 14,762, but over the next fourteen years it fell to Rs. 6,000 (Grigg, 1880, 292; Francis, 1908, 268). In 1801 it was Rs. 13,425; in 1811 it was Rs. 15,067 (Grigg, 1880, 314); in 1821 it was Rs. 9,000 (Mackworth, 1823, 123–126); and by 1830 it was down to Rs. 6,000 (Baber, 1830, 314). There were several reasons for this decline, the most general one being the meagre control over the plateau that could be exercised from Dannaika Kote; Sullivan attributed the low revenue to lack of a proper road (Grigg, 1880, 280–281, 314). The tax-farmers who operated for some time on the

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path between the priest's home and the temple, or go beyond the territorial boundary of her own village. She must not collect dry firewood, lest she become barren. She must not face the village priest; so that when he starts out from his home for the temple he shouts "hu:hu:" (or rings a handbell if it is a Lingayat village) as a warning to *all* menstruating women to hide themselves. The girl must cook her own food while she is in seclusion, and cannot be supplied with it already cooked from her own home. Instead, every household in the village should give the girl a small amount of rice, chili, salt, pulse, millet flour or vegetables. Such gifts are not to be returned later in equal measurs.

3.12. A girl's first seclusion is for no fixed period. She can re-enter her home only on a Monday, Wednesday or Friday, but it must be either the first day after the new moon or else whichever of these three days falls most closely before the full moon. Although this is the Badaga custom, today one out of five girls would instead go to the nearest town and, in Tamilian fashion, consult an astrologer as to the most auspicious day for re-entering the house. On that day she bathes outside the house, puts on a set of totally new clothes, and cuts her nails with a small knife. Along with the other new clothes she is given the traditional headcloth, which she ties over her head before entering the home or which is replaced by the end of a *sa:ri* held over her head, if she has adopted that mode of dress (Hockings 1979a). Only after sunset, when she can see stars, does the girl cross the threshold, doing so with the right, auspicious foot first. It is reported that she used to be led up to the threshold by five elderly women (Francis 1908: 131). Once inside she goes to the doorway that joins the two main rooms, kneels down, and touches her head to the floor. By this gesture she acknowledges that the further room, the *ogamane*, is a sacred place which she will never pollute by her menses. As the girl bows down, older people in that house say a prayer. She then stands and bows her head to the hand of the oldest person in the house, and then to all other relatives present. Next, accompanied by another girl of similar age such as a sister, she goes round the village and bows in the same manner to all people older than herself. On that occasion each household must offer her something to eat as a symbol of their mutual kinship. Generally the girl is given milk, but in a large village she may only taste a drop of that milk because she could not drink so much. And although the village may be large, the bowing cannot be postponed

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759 that if this habit became general, the therapists would make themselves equally accessible to all patients.

(844) There is a local tradition that a midwife should be given a new dress by the child's father after a delivery. It is actually given at (431) the child's naming ceremony or else on the last day of the funeral observation should the neonate die. For the last 15 years of her life Sithamma did not deliver babies herself, but was sometimes in attendance and instructed her assistants. People still offered her the dress, but she blessed it and asked them to give it to somebody in need of it.

Midwives

759 554 10.6. Through the centuries there has been one special role, outside of the family, that has always been held by women, and that is the role of midwife. It has been a position that commands respect for the skill that she must have. Not every woman of course is a potential midwife; but the interested younger women receive some training whenever a delivery occurs in their village. A midwife quite often becomes more than a deliverer of babies. Partly because she is asked to minister to the varied health needs of parturient women and the newborn, she is trusted and consulted and may in time become skilled as a curer of other physical disorders as well. Sometimes she supervises birth among the domestic animals.

759 844 (842) Often there is more than one midwife in a village; other women are asked to come to a delivery if they have helped with one before, and of course the girls who are learning midwifery attend. Yet other women will want to come and watch, and barren women may feel that if they attend they might also become pregnant through the magic of contiguity. The small room may therefore be quite crowded and stuffy.

759 844 783 (515) Midwives go to their work without necessarily washing first. A midwife is polluted by each birth—for three days if it is the mother's first delivery, for one day otherwise ; but this does not imperil a midwife's status in the community. If it is a woman's first delivery, the midwife throws her own clothes away, otherwise she just washes them. A high-status Lingayat such as Sithamma removes her *linga* emblem before beginning at the polluting

177 are Tamil, not Badagu. Very many of the Badaga hamlets have built a bhajan house
533 specifically for use during evenings of devotion. Such houses are owned by the ham-
368 let in common and are considered as temples. Inside the bhajan house will be a num-
423 ber of lithographic prints of Kriśna and other gods, and perhaps an image. During
178 the course of a devotional evening, puja will be done to the image or to some of the
182 lithographs. Not everyone in a hamlet is interested in the bhajan form of worship,
178 however; but its popularity is clearly increasing, for it has its strongest following
796 among the village youths. Once a year small donations are offered for the support
(431) of the bhajan group by every household in the hamlet where it is performed. An in-
creasing interest in bhajans has been noted elsewhere in South India (cf. Singer 1959:
148-49).

177 2) Lingayats, too, have developed their ties with the
795 plains. Before this century they knew little about the Vīraśaiva religion in their
Mysore home-land. Perhaps once a year a Lingayat guru would wander up into the
Nilgiris from Nanjangud (so says Harkness 1832: 137); but whatever he might be able
to teach about the Lingayat faith would have to be transmitted entirely by word of
mouth. In the 20th Century, on the other hand, the Badaga Lingayats have become
literate, and some of them read books on Lingayat philosophy quite avidly. Cheap
transportation has also enabled them to make pilgrimages to some of the places that
are sacred in Vīraśaiva belief, and to meet well-informed monks and Jangamas in
the towns of Mysore State.

177 One significant fruit of this increased contact has been the occurrence of a
582 number of marriages, during the present century, between Badaga Lingayat men and
Kanarese Lingayat girls; even a few of the conservative Wodeyas have taken this
(578) step. The move for marital links with Mysore has not been met with equanimity by

433 (648) employing Kasuvas and exploiting the grazing potentials offered by tropical savanna woodlands, bamboo thickets, thorny thickets, and related savannas of the Mysore Ditch.

234 778 (776) (782) (346) The Bergani dairy-temple center. A sacred buffalo herd is maintained at the Bergani dairy-temple center honoring the goddess Masthi Hethai. At the center there is a building with an inner dairy-temple, priest's quarters, and rooms to shelter buffalo calves (Plate III, A). Several buffalo-pens stand close by. Down slope there is another building where pilgrims may sleep. Inside it is a sacred

778 (782) (793) (788) room where an employed Chetti annually weaves new clothing for the goddess's image and the attendant priest. Food for hundreds of pilgrims who attend an annual festival is cooked in a nearby shed with aligned fireplaces.

234 778 (431) (648) Features inside the dairy-temple are identically related to the arrangement of features within Badaga row temples described in a later chapter. The dairy-temple center and a herd of over 70 buffaloes are supported through monetary gifts and buffaloes donated by devotees. Todas sometimes give buffaloes. Most gift buffaloes are garlanded and presented to the priest during a week preceding the festival honoring the goddess. The young priest, who may serve for a year or more, looks

234 778 793 after the sacred buffaloes and processes their milk inside the dairy-temple. He never returns to secular life during his term in office, and must give up the priesthood on Masthi Hethai's Monday if he starts dreaming about girls or wishes to get married. The youth milks sacred buffaloes in the morning and evening, takes buffaloes to and from

234 pasture on neighboring slopes, and processes milk into clarified
778 butter. This, as the sacred clarified butter of the Badagas, is used
(793) in lamps within the dairy-temple and for ritual at Badaga festivals
or temples. Any Badaga male may visit the Bergani dairy-temple and
(237) drink buttermilk given to him by the priest. Because women are pollut-
(372) ing, no woman may enter the dairy-temple complex itself. However,
(262) women of nearby Bergani hamlet come daily to an established point at
(562) an uncontaminating distance from the dairy-temple and there receive
(783) buttermilk for household consumption. Buttermilk from processed
sacred milk is also drunk by the priest. The priest never eats meat
793 while in office and cooks his own vegetarian food. All grains, vege-
(262) tables, and other foodstuffs needed by him are supplied by visitors
(431) or neighboring Bergani Badagas.

796 The festival honoring Masthi Hethai takes place on a Monday in
(788) mid-January. Badaga males from all over the Nilgiris come with their
Hethai sticks to worship the goddess (Plate III, B). Women may also
(562) attend, but must remain an uncontaminating distance away from sacred
(293) places. Men and women wear new white clothing, must not bring any-
(262) thing made with leather, and eat no meat during the festival. At the
(784) festival's climax, two entranced priests believed to be possessed by
Masthi Hethai predict crop yields in the coming main crop season
(793) (Karbokam) and inform a few men that their wives will shortly conceive.
(241) Daily and festival rituals at Bergani are thus parts of a fertility
(842) cult related to the Badaga's economy and future prosperity.

234 Badaga hundis. The Badagas have for a long time used seasonal
361

81 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AM30 Badaga AM30

4. Visiting the Relatives: A Kin-based Institution

All Badagas are expected by their families to visit affinal and agnatic relatives with some regularity. The effect of this requirement is to keep the joint family ideal alive even after a household has broken up, and to sustain the ties with affines from whom one may at any time need either a spouse or a loan of money.

One such rule is that all Badagas must eat with their close relatives at least once a year. "Close relatives" here means those with whom one is involved in the performance of family ceremonies: it hence includes both one's closer agnates and some affines. Accordingly, a family either sends a message that the members are coming to visit some relatives, or will send an invitation for them to visit instead; and such visits involve minimally the eating of one meal. Everybody recognizes that if relatives do not eat together within a twelve-month period, it means that there is some ill-feeling between them. Steps may even be taken by village elders to locate and rectify the source of the friction, so that it may not impede the performance of ceremonies later on. There may of course be other reasons, such as distance or occupation, which make it impossible for relatives to get together; in this case they may still send gifts of food to each other once a year. In the modern day when business or study obligations can make these family feasts difficult to attend, some Badagas go so far as to prepare a special foodstuff before the twelve-month period since the last such feast has elapsed, a foodstuff which can be kept indefinitely and be fed to relatives whenever convenient, even after the twelve-month period is over.

A man visiting his wife's natal home is always an important guest whether or not he has received an invitation to come. Her family are all very respectful to him for fear he decrease the amount of his wife's contacts with them, which he is certainly in a position to do. For all family ceremonies or festivals in their village, they make sure he is among the first to be invited. When younger siblings of his wife are ready for marriage, he is consulted about a spouse, and may intensify the ties between the two families by suggesting his own sibling or parallel cousin. Hence, any villagers noticing that a man does not attend the ceremonies in which his wife's father is involved will conclude that he is snubbing his father-in-law for some reason.

Visits in the other direction, to the house of a married daughter or sister, are much more circumscribed. Her parents will not go to her husband's home without a good reason. They will however make occasional visits there just to emphasize the bond between the two families and to show that the parents still have affection for their daughter. Her brothers should equally have an invitation or a definite purpose for visiting her. In general, her natal family consider it rather lacking in dignity to visit her too often, and they will try to restrict the visits of any brother who seems especially fond of her. Her husband's family may well feel that very frequent visits from her brothers waste a woman's working time and can even become something of an economic drain.

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
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764 burning the dead. A calf is then given as a present to some of the
(431) agnatic kindred and the calf-given is . male or a female, according
as the person that is dead is a man or a woman. Then the corpse is
carried on to the ground where it is to be buried or cremated. On
539 the way the following recitation of sins of the dead is made with
782 prayer that they may be all excused. This almost amounts to the
764 *Sarvaprâyaśchitta* of the Hindus, which however is performed when
the person is in his last stage and before his death, or the confession
of the Roman Catholic Christians. The name of the dead party
comes first; the sins are enumerated and pardon requested. Many
enumerations are made according to the cleverness of the people
539 assembled. One such enumeration of the sins which are considered
the most important is given below:—

Śevani śettadu śâvu
Banniye danakaru Jenniye
Teru Tirupadi onduge
Martiyalôgadandu
Mahâlôgaga payaṇa
Ivarâ hetta hettappa mâḍiyadu
Ivaru avvappa mâḍiyadu
Ivaridâu mâḍiyadu
Sarvannûrû pâpa haṭṭaliyu
Basavanapâda sêdu hôgali
Aritamaga anna koḍadadu
Beratamaga bekki koḍaḍadu
Târi toriyanda maga kûḍa toriyadu
Anna tammana agala mâḍiyadu
Tiṭṭa tivaru ottiyadu
Urida kichchaga uchchu hoydadu
Sarvannûrupapa haṭṭaliyu
Chinnada kambuga chêdu
Boṭṭiya kambuga oradu
Karaṃadu manê kaḍa muchchali
Darmada manega dâri buḍali
Hûna bê muchchali
Milapâla bigêli
Saggada kadi tareli
Savundaru nireli
Andu koṭṭa Birumanapâda kiḍidu
Indu puṭṭu Basavanapâdu kiḍidu
Śiva śandânaga śerili Chorus *Hâgê,*